

Trip to Lisbon 6/84



Social Democrats, USA

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New York, N.Y. 10001 / (212) 255-1390
CABLE ADDRESS: SOCDMUSA NEWYORK

June 28-30

National Chairman
Bayard Rustin

Editor, New America
Lesley Chenoweth

Executive Director
Rita Freedman

RECEIVED 7 1984

March 6, 1984

Mario Soares
Foundation for International Relations
Av Antonio Augusto de Aguiar, 88-4^o
1000 Lisbon
Portugal

Dear Mario:

Thank you so much for your kind invitation to join you at the "Democratic Challenge in Latin America" conference on June 28-30. I will be most happy to do so.

Joe Godson, who was just here in the United States, passed along your request that I prepare the American paper on Human Rights and Political Advancement to be presented on July 29. I thank you for the honor and I will send you a copy of the paper in sufficient time for you to have it translated and reproduced.

I look forward to seeing you.

Fraternally,

Bayard

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/hk

INTERNATIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20057

TELEPHONE:
(202) 333-1342

June 13, 1984

Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Bayard,

I am writing you with regard to the upcoming conference "Democratic Challenge in Latin America" to be held in Lisbon on the 28th, 29th and 30th of this month. Enclosed you will find a copy of your paper and the paper to be presented by Dr. Paul Seabury, Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley. There will be other papers presented by European and Latin Americans which hopefully will be translated by the time we reach Lisbon.

The following Americans are expected to attend. (Only the Portuguese are aware of who will be attending from Europe and Latin America.)

Mr. Irving Brown
Director
Department of International
Affairs, AFL-CIO

Mr. William Doherty, Jr.
Executive Director
AIFLD

Mr. David Dorn
Director of International
Affairs, American
Federation of Teachers

Ms. Rita Freedman
Executive Director
Social Democrats, USA

Dr. Roy Godson
Director
International Labor Program
Georgetown University

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Chairman
Freedom House

Mr. Lane Kirkland
President
AFL-CIO

Mr. Robert Lovelace
Program Coordinator
International Labor Program
Georgetown University

Mr. Bayard Rustin
June 13, 1984
Page Two

Mr. Jay Mazur
Secretary-Treasurer
ILGWU

Dr. Paul Seabury
Professor of Political Science
University of California-
Berkeley

Dr. Eusebio Mujal-Leon
Associate Professor of
Government
Georgetown University

Mr. Larry Specht
Director
Labor Desk
US Youth Council

Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA

You will also find your airline ticket enclosed. The Portuguese are reserving accommodations for US participants at the Ritz Hotel, Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca 88A, Lisbon, telephone: 68-41-31. The hotel will also serve as the conference site. If you have given us your flight arrival times we have passed them along to the Portuguese.

There also will be an orientation meeting for US participants at 4:00 pm the afternoon of June 28th at the Ritz, just prior to the opening dinner. We will leave a message confirming where the meeting will take place.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,


Roy Godson
Director

Enclosures

"HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT:
STRATEGIES FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA"
A PAPER BY BAYARD RUSTIN, CHAIRMAN, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS USA
PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICA
OF THE FOUNDATION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
LISBON, PORTUGAL, JUNE 29, 1984

Latin America today stands at the center of the struggle for democracy. Immense and heartening changes are occurring in formerly authoritarian societies of the region. Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, and Honduras have made recent transitions to democratic rule. El Salvador has held elections despite attempts by leftists and rightists to undermine the democratic process. In Brazil a powerful mass movement is pressing for a quick return to democracy. In Chile, trade unions form the advance guard in the effort to restore freedom. Yet powerful as the popular will for democracy is in Latin America, democratic institutions will require many years to become deeply rooted.

There is volatility in the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking nations of the region, especially in Central America, where there is not only danger from the extreme right and the extreme left, but also the meddling of the Soviet Union and its clients. Beyond this there is the threat of regional conflagration which threatens not only dictatorships and

tyrannies, but democrats and democracies as well.

Amid this volatility and violence we-- as democrats, as advocates of freedom, and as supporters of a just social order-- must play an active role in strengthening democratic forces and institutions in the region if we are to advance the democratization of non-democratic left-wing and right-wing regimes.

In my remarks, I shall try to examine recent developments in Central America and will seek to put forth what I believe are the contours of a prudent, practical, and moral approach to the entire region.

I am fully cognizant that I do not qualify as an expert on Latin and Central America. But I have devoted a lifetime to working for the advancement of democracy and democratic institutions at home in the struggle for civil rights alongside Martin Luther King, Jr. and the black socialist and labor leader A. Philip Randolph. I have also worked over the years with Nehru in India, and with Nkrumah, Kaunda, and Azikewe in Africa. More recently I have devoted much of my time to the problems of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Haiti, and Poland. More recently, I have traveled frequently to Central America and have collected indelible impressions which underlie my observations.

The movement toward democracy and the demands for democratic change in Latin America, and particularly in Central America, are occurring in the context of an immensely dangerous new factor: the emergence of Cuba as an increasingly active agent of Soviet interventionism, and the drift toward Marxism-Leninism in a Nicaragua which willingly has aligned itself with the interests of the totalitarian Soviet bloc and which seeks to export its tyranny through revolution.

Prior to Castro's rise and prior to the full internationalization and globalization of Soviet imperial ambitions, it was easier democrats to make clearer distinctions between the forces of good and the forces of evil. There were, on the one hand, traditional dictators allied with exploitative oligarchies and/or the military. On the other side there were forces for democracy and social justice, either inside a country or those forced into exile.

Earlier help to democrats consisted in mobilizing public opinion, nurturing exiles, strengthening democratic political parties, and building support for free and independent trade unions. Today, however, even the language of democracy and social justice is distorted and used by would-be tyrants and totalitarians. Democrats and advocates of evolutionary change are the targets of right-wing "death squads" and leftist guerrillas.

Today, choices are not simple. Choices are not only between good and evil; they are often between bad or worse. Thus, we must look at who the opponents of tyranny are and we must examine the nature of regimes they seek to create.

In most of Latin America, the distinctions between the forces for democracy and the forces of oppression are relatively clear. But in Central America and the Caribbean, where there are insurgents opposed to democracy and where Cuba and the Soviet Union seek to advance their malevolent interests, our task is far more complex.

In this context I would like to examine in greater detail the situations in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

In El Salvador, we have recently witnessed a remarkable event-- the election of a President who is a true democrat-- Jose Napoleon Duarte, a man who has been imprisoned, tortured, and exiled for his commitment to freedom. The election, which I observed, was declared free and fair by observers from many American and European nations. The runoff election which Duarte won, moreover, occurred with less of the polling place confusion that partially, though not decisively, complicated the first round of the process.

Jose Napoleon Duarte is committed to a program of land reform, democracy, negotiation, and reconciliation. He deserves the wideranging support of the West. Duarte recognizes that profound social inequities, the results of years of tyranny, and the continued lawlessness of right-wing "death squads," provide a fertile ground for tyrants. He is therefore committed to a program of land reform, free trade unions and peasant organizations, the nationalization of banks and export trade, the building of an independent judiciary, civilian control of the army and police, and the strengthening of a free press. Yet he knows these laudable goals cannot be achieved without an end to the violence of the extreme right and left. And, as the Kissinger Commission suggested, Duarte and democracy cannot succeed without significant Western economic aid and unless military aid is linked to concrete human rights improvements. Such military aid, which ought to be administered through the civilian Salvadoran government is needed to prevent the anti-democratic guerrillas from seizing power or militarily sabotaging economic development.

Much has been said by the press about the cruelties and horrors perpetrated by the Salvadoran rightist "death squads." The press has reported much less about bloody acts committed by the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front. Five members of the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly were killed before the

Presidential elections. The guerrillas recently killed Red Cross ambulance drivers, civilians, and school teachers; they have attacked passenger trains; they broke their promise not to disrupt the elections; and, according to a number of independent trade union and campesino leaders of the UPD (the Peoples' Democratic Union), the political leaders of the FDR (the Democratic Revolutionary Front) could not even entertain the prospect of participating in elections because they have been threatened with death by the guerrillas if they break with them on that issue and rejoin the democratic process.

Let us then contrast the example of the slow, but nevertheless promising progress toward democratically-elected civilian rule in El Salvador, with the situation in Nicaragua.

Unlike El Salvador, where support for the guerrillas is narrow, in Nicaragua the opposition to the Somoza regime was broad-based, having included the press, labor unions, much of the business community, and the Catholic church. Nonetheless, it was only the Sandinistas who controlled the guns. And it was only the pro-Cuban, Marxist-Leninists among the Sandinistas who called the shots. Nevertheless, the Sandinistas won the support of the Organization of American States (OAS) on their promise to hold open and democratic elections, to pursue a policy of political pluralism, and to remain truly non-aligned. Now, however, nearly

five years after their victory, we can clearly see that they have not kept their promises of democratic rule.

Just three months after taking power, the Sandinistas told an Assembly of their cadre that a governing junta which included independents was "an alliance of convenience organized by the Sandinistas to thwart Yankee intervention" and that "it was not necessary to negotiate with the bourgeoisie, but only to give some representation to people with patriotic reputation." They, likewise, asserted that they were organizing an "army politicized without precedent." Much as the National Guard once belonged to Somoza, so today the Army belongs to the FSLN (the Sandinista National Liberation Front) and not the state.

But the Sandinistas did not end there. They emphasized that the need "to appear reasonable during the transitional period was beginning to cause dangerous problems such as an independent labor movement." But most ominously they emphasized the need to support "World Revolution" and clearly allied themselves with the so-called "socialist bloc" headed by the Soviet Union against the forces of "imperialism," headed by the United States.

Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega asserted in August, 1981,

that "the elections planned (then) for 1985 will in no way, like a lottery, decide who is going to hold power. For this power belongs to the people, to the FSLN, to our directorate."

Immediately after Somoza was toppled, the Costa Rican teachers union and the American Federation of Teachers offered to send teachers to help in a literacy campaign. The Sandinistas spurned such assistance, preferring the educational materials, teachers, and totalitarian indoctrination that came from Cuba.

After enormous internal and external pressure, elections have at last been called for November, 1984. As it stands now opposition political parties will be severely restricted in their freedom to organize and to disseminate their views. The independent newspaper La Prensa remains heavily censored. And two of the most popular opposition leaders --Eden Pastora and Alfonso Robelo-- are forbidden to take part because they have joined the anti-Sandinista guerrilla movement. On the other hand, in El Salvador, opposition leaders linked with the guerrillas were invited to take part in the democratic process. Moreover, the Sandinista junta has announced that it will not permit "the exaltation of values of the past" and that competing parties must "respond to the revolutionary reality."

No provisions are being made to assure free political expression and freedom of the press for the election. Under the current "state of emergency" no news can be printed which "jeopardizes" the national security or the defense of Nicaragua. There are sweeping restrictions against press discussions of shortages of consumer goods and other economic failings. Censorship today is regarded by many experts as worse than under Somoza. The FSLN owns all television channels. In the last three years, 23 independent radio news programs have been silenced and radio is now virtually a Sandinista monopoly. The only free newspaper, the highly popular and respected La Prensa is constantly censored, its journalists arrested and intimidated, its access to newsprint limited, its circulation artificially restricted.

For two to four months prior to the election, a total of 14 political parties in the opposition will have to share 15 minutes of television time once a week to take their message to the nation-- and this is possible only if they do not address basic economic inadequacies and the undemocratic conduct of the revolution.

Beyond this, opposition party activists' mobility will be limited because of a five-gallon-a-week ration imposed on

gasoline. The voting age has been lowered to 16 so that children indoctrinated by the Cubans and Sandinistas can vote. Furthermore, unlike El Salvador, in Nicaragua the military will be permitted to vote.

To avoid massive manipulation, the opposition has raised a number of demands, which are democratic and deserve Western support. They are:

1) that the FSLN separate their Party from the state and the military;

2) that the Contadora Group be invited in to observe the elections and the campaign prior to the elections;

3) that fundamental liberties-- freedom of expression, freedom of press, freedom of movement, freedom of organization, access to the broadcast media-- be re-established;

4) that an end be put to institutionalized intimidation by organized Sandinista block committees and mobs ("turbas"), which break up opposition rallies and meetings;

and that 5) all political forces and their leaders be allowed to participate in the elections.

The Sandinista attack on freedom is not limited to the election and to the political opposition. The Catholic church is, likewise, embattled. Priests are harassed by mobs. Pastoral letters and sermons are censored in the press and prevented from being broadcast. A small Jewish community of some fifty families has been hounded out of the country and the only synagogue in Managua has been taken over.

Independent, non-Sandinista trade union leaders are jailed and intimidated. The right to strike has been suspended. Workers are coerced into joining the Sandinista-controlled unions. By mid-1982 the official count of political prisoners stood at 4,200, higher than even the figures under the Somoza dictatorship. Miskito Indians were rounded up into concentration camps. Some who resisted have been killed or hounded into exile. Businessmen are harassed. The pretense of non-alignment has been abandoned as exemplified by the slavish defense of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Cuban, East German, PLO and Bulgarian advisers and military instructors abound. The Soviets have shipped 15,000 tons of arms to Nicaragua in the last year alone. The society has become increasingly militarized and controlled.

Nicaragua's role in the region, constitutes a significant threat to democracy and freedom. It weakens true democrats fighting to topple right-wing dictators by now exposing them to their enemies on both the left and the right.

As in Nicaragua, the Grenada regime of Maurice Bishop came into power on the strength of widespread discontent with a right-wing dictatorship. But soon a Marxist-Leninist minority consolidated power and moved to establish totalitarian control of the press, trade unions, the churches, and all independent social institutions. The Grenadian New Jewel movement saw itself as part and parcel of the world revolutionary movement led by the Soviet Union. It sought to undermine the Socialist International through a secret caucus involving the cooperation of Cuba and the Sandinistas.

It sought, as well, to provide support for Marxist-Leninist self-styled "revolutionaries" throughout the Caribbean.

Clearly, in shaping a strategy for the advancement of democracy in Central America, we must be mindful of these cautionary examples. Yet we must be mindful equally of the profound economic, social, and political inequities which provide a fertile ground for the "new dictators" and the "new totalitarians."

Above all we must adopt a strategy which advances democratic forces, strengthens existing democratic institutions, and works to advance pluralism both in politics and in the economy.

The centerpiece of our strategy must be an effort aimed at peaceful, non-military solutions. For it is the democrats and democratic institutions which are most often undermined when violence and terror reign.

I am not suggesting that we blindly shut our eyes to the existing military struggles and urge an end to military aid for governments in Central America. We must insist, however, that such aid be proffered only to democratic governments or when tangible improvements have been made in human rights and basic freedoms. Western democracies must provide aid to democratic forces in Central America. Selective economic and diplomatic sanctions ought also to be instruments used against both right-wing and left-wing tyrannies. It is equally clear that calls for non-involvement, however well-intentioned, merely pave the way to victory by either the extreme right or the anti-democratic and pro-Soviet left.

The basis of any strategy aimed at peaceful change must be the principle of freedom of association and independent trade unionism. We must provide aid to the poorest countries in Central America and Latin America in ways which strengthen cooperative movements and trade unions. In this way we serve to strengthen those mass institutions which are strong guarantors of democratic freedoms and which, indeed, require democratic freedoms in order to thrive. Moreover, a serious question in the developing world is the question of political leadership. In the context of long periods of tyranny and dictatorship, and often in the absence of substantial skilled working classes and middle classes, the development of a democratic political leadership and an infrastructure of democratic institutions is a daunting task, indeed.

It is in this regard, as the American trade union movement-- the AFL-CIO--has recognized, that the growth of independent democratic unions is a sine qua non of democratic change and stability. Trade unions in Central and Latin America provide an essential vehicle not only for the protection of the basic rights of workers at their place of work; they are a buffer between the individual and the state; and, moreover, they constitute an important training ground for future national

democratic political and government leaders. Trade unions provide the essential instrument for talented young men and women of working class backgrounds to develop and educate themselves.

It is clear that the positive movement to democracy in Latin America and Central America has occurred through the persistent struggle of trade unions, peasant movements, democratic political parties, courageous journalists, heroic religious leaders, lawyers and judges who have fought bravely for an independent judiciary, and simple people who have lost their fear.

Yet it is equally true that the great gains won by these segments of society are dependent to a significant degree on the role of the military in these societies. Indeed, segments of the military in many Latin American countries are playing an important role in accepting the popular will for parliamentary rule and are returning to the barracks.

As democrats, as trade unionists, and as advocates of human rights, most of us do not pay much attention to processes within the military elites. Nor do we give much mind to the type of democratic and civic education which is provided soldiers. Yet the return of the military and the police to their intended

functions of national defense and protection from criminality merit greater attention. The depoliticization of these segments of society, which often play a decisive role in assuring whether the fragile seed of democracy will flower, ought to be the subject of serious discussion and investigation here and in any future deliberations on the prospects for democracy in Latin America and elsewhere in the developing world.

The strengthening of political parties, human rights organizations, and civic groups, must also be part of our strategy. Thus such initiatives as my country's National Endowment for Democracy must be strengthened and protected from short-sighted legislative budget-cutters.

In the final analysis, if we work to ensure that the hand of terrorists and tyrants of both right and left is weakened; if we work mightily to provide significant economic aid to Latin America, and Central America in particular; if we eschew the calls of isolationists who urge non-involvement; and if we fight to strengthen the hand of democratically-elected leaders in their fight against right-wing death squads and Marxist-Leninist guerrillas, we can be confident that we will have played a modest but important role in assuring that the 21st century is, for Latin and Central America, the Democratic Century.

Thank you.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20057

RECEIVED AUG 6 1984

TELEPHONE:
(202) 333-1342

July 17, 1984

Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard,

Just a note to express my appreciation for your participation in the Lisbon Conference. Enclosed please find a copy of Max Kampelman's speech and several articles which have appeared in the International Herald Tribune regarding the conference.

At present we expect a conference report to be prepared by the Portuguese Foundation for International Relations. Later this fall we will endeavor to implement the follow-up ideas discussed during the conference.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Roy Godson
Roy Godson

RG/ct
Enclosures

Dictated by, but signed
in his absence.



Foundation
for INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Av António Augusto de Aguiar 88 - 4º 1000 LISBOA PORTUGAL Telefones: 57 33 82 / 57 50 44 / 57 50 94 - Telex 42427 FRI/P

PROVISIONAL LIST OF GUESTS
CONFERENCE "THE DEMOCRATIC
CHALLENGE IN LATIN AMERICA"
June 28, 29 and 30, 1984

Argentina	Hipólito Solari
	Juan José Taccone
Austria	Peter Jankowistch
Barbados	O'Brien Trotman
Belgium	André Louis
	John Vanderveken
	Mathias Hinterscheid
Bolivia	Jaime Paz
Brazil	Darcy Ribeiro
	Fernando Henrique Cardoso
	Ruth Escobar
	Hermano Alves
Chile	Aniceto Rodriguez
	Eduardo Rios
	Andrés Zaldivar
	Anselmo Sule

Colombia	Jorge Mario Eastman Apecides Alviz Fernandez Hernando Baquero
Costa Rica	Luis Alberto Monge Daniel Oduber
Dominican Republic	Peña Gomez Enrique Arias
Ecuador	Rodrigo Borja
El Salvador	Guillermo Ungo Hector Oqueli Salvador Carazo Samuel Maldonado Juan Ramirez Rauda René Fortin Magaña
Federal Republic of Germany	Uwe Holtz Klaus Lindenberg Dieter Schneider
France	Alain Richard Guy Hermet Nicole Bourdillat
Guatemala	Haroldo Rodas Melgar Carlos Gallardo Flores Juan Francisco Alfaro
Honduras	Victor Artilles

Italy

Ivanka Corti

Giorgio Benvenuto

Silvio Versace

Nicaragua

José Francisco Espinoza

Mons. Bismarck Carballo

Norway

Kaare Sandegren

Panama

Luis Anderson

Aristides Royo

Peru

Mario Vargas Llosa

Armando Villanueva

Julio Cruzada

Alain Garcia

Portugal

Mário Soares

Carlos da Mota Pinto

Bernardino Gomes

Eduardo Pereira

Emmanuel Jardim Fernandes

Henrique Coelho

Isabel Soares

Jaime Gama

João Tito de Morais

José Lello

José Luis Nunes
José Manuel Torres Couto
José Pereira Lopes
Luis Beiroco
Luiza Cabral
Maldonado Gonelha
Manuel Alegre
Maria Manuel Santos
Raul Rêgo
Renée Gomes
Rodolfo Crespo
Rui Mateus
Victor Constâncio
Victor de Sá Machado

Spain

Felipe González
Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez
Luis Yañez
Santiago Roldan
Juan Antonio Yañez
Inocencio Arias
Javier Ruperez
Luis González Seara
Francisco Bobillo
Raul Morodo
Miguel Martinez Cuadrado

Luis Rodriguez Zuñiga

Elena Flores

Manuel Simon

Donato Fuejo

Pedro Bofill

Pedro de Vega

José Vidal Beneyto

Sweden

Pierre Schori

United Kingdom

Eric Hammond

United States

Lane Kirkland

Max Kampleman

Bayard Rustin

Paul Seabury

Irwing Brown

Albert Shanker

Doherty, Jr.

Roy Godson

Walter Raymond Jr.

Otto Reich

Rita Freedman

Joseph Godson

Jay Mazur

David Dorn

Eusabio Mual-Leon

William Perry

Ben Rathbun

Larry Specht

Robert Lovelace

Uruguay

Silvia Ferreira de Morelli

Diego Achard

Venezuela

Carlos Andrés Perez

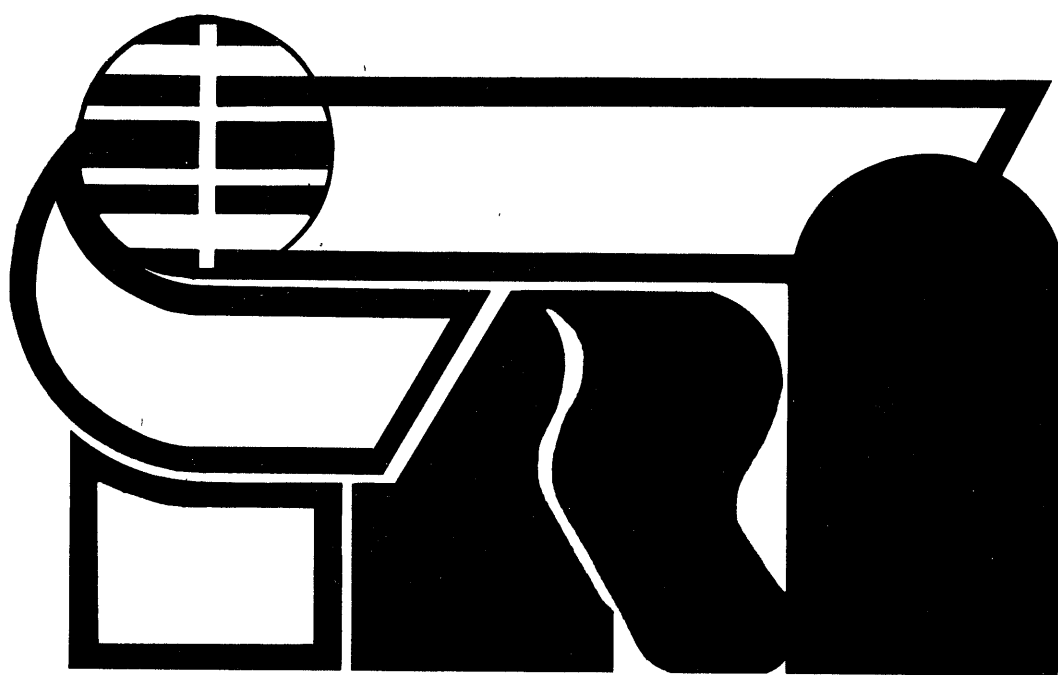
Enrique Tejera Paris

Press

Flora Lewis

Brian Beedham

Joseph Fichett



O DESAFIO DEMOCRÁTICO NA AMÉRICA LATINA

Junho 28, 29 e 30 de 1984

LISBOA

Fundação de RELAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS

O DESAFIO DEMOCRÁTICO NA AMÉRICA LATINA

Junho 28

12:00h / 19:00h 21:00h	Chegada dos Participantes Jantar oferecido pelo Primeiro Ministro português, Dr. Mário Soares Discurso de boas-vindas pronunciado pelo Dr. Mário Soares Palavras de agradecimento pelo Presidente Luis Monge	Palácio Foz
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Junho 29

07:30h / 09:00h 09:00h 09:00h / 10:00h 10:00h / 10:30h 10:30h / 11:00h 11:00h / 11:30h 11:30h / 13:00h 13:15h	Pequeno almoço Abertura dos trabalhos 1.ª Alocução — Primeiro Ministro Dr. Mário Soares 2.ª Alocução — Presidente Luis Monge 3.ª Alocução — Presidente Lane Kirkland Pausa café Debate Almoço de Trabalho Discurso proferido pelo Presidente Fernandez Ordoñez Segue-se debate	Hotel Ritz Jardim de Inverno Hotel Ritz
15:15h / 18:30h	Trabalhos das Comissões: I — Comissão — Grupo Político: 1 Presidente e 2 Vice-Presidentes Primeira comunicação — Enrique Tejera Paris Segunda comunicação — Bayard Rustin Terceira comunicação — Guy Hermet II — Comissão — Grupo Económico: 1 Presidente e 2 Vice-Presidentes Primeira comunicação — Miguel Martinez Cuadrado Segunda comunicação — Paul Seabury Terceira comunicação — Luis Anderson	Jardim de Inverno Sala Vasco da Gama Hotel Ritz
18:30h 21:00h	Interrupção dos trabalhos. Recepção Jantar oferecido pelo Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa Discurso proferido pelo Embaixador Kamplamam	Castelo de S. Jorge (Casa do Leão)

Junho 30

07:30h / 09:00h 09:00h / 10:30h	Pequeno almoço Sessão Plenária	Hotel Ritz Jardim de Inverno
10:30h / 11:00h 11:00h / 11:30h 11:30h / 12:00h 12:00h / 13:30h	Relatórios Debate Pausa café Sessão de encerramento Discursos proferidos pelo Presidente Felipe González e pelo Vice-Presidente Jaime Paz	Jardim de Inverno
13:30h	Almoço de encerramento oferecido pelo Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Dr. Jaime Gama Discursos de encerramento pronunciado pelo Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros	Palácio das Necessidades
18:30h	Recepção	

EL DESAFIO DEMOCRÁTICO EN AMERICA LATINA

Junio 28

12:00h / 19:00h 21:00h	Llegada de los Participantes Cena ofrecida por el Primer Ministro portugués, Dr. Mário Soares Palabras de bienvenida pronunciadas por Mário Soares Palabras de agradecimiento por el Presidente Luis Monge	Palácio Foz
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Junio 29

07:30h / 09:00h 09:00h 09:00h / 10:00h 10:00h / 10:30h 10:30h / 11:00h 11:00h / 11:30h 11:30h / 13:00h 13:15h	Desayuno Comienzo de los trabajos 1.ª Conferencia — Primer Ministro Mário Soares 2.ª Conferencia — Presidente Luis Monge 3.ª Conferencia — Presidente Lane Kirkland Pausa café Debate Almuerzo de Trabajo Discurso pronunciado por el Presidente Fernandez Ordoñez Siguese debate	Hotel Ritz Jardim de Inverno Hotel Ritz
15:15h / 18:30h	Trabajos de las Comisiones: I — Comisión — Grupo Político: 1 Presidente y 2 Vicepresidentes Primera comunicación — Enrique Tejera Paris Segunda comunicación — Bayard Rustin Tercera comunicación — Guy Hermet II — Comisión — Grupo Economico: 1 Presidente y 2 Vicepresidentes Primera comunicación — Miguel Martinez Cuadrado Segunda comunicación — Paul Seabury Tercera comunicación — Luis Anderson	Jardim de Inverno
18:30h 21:00h	Interrupción de los trabajos. Recepción. Cena ofrecida por el Presidente del Ayuntamiento de Lisboa Discurso pronunciado por el Embajador Kamplemam	Sala Vasco da Gama Hotel Ritz Castelo de S. Jorge (Casa do Leão)

Junio 30

07:30h / 09:00h 09:00h / 10:30h	Desayuno Sesión Plenária	Hotel Ritz Jardim de Inverno
10:30h / 11:00h 11:00h / 11:30h 11:30h / 12:00h 12:00h / 13:30h	Relatórios Debate Pausa café Sesión de clausura Discurso pronunciado por el Presidente Felipe González y por el Vicepresidente Jaime Paz	Jardim de Inverno
13:30h	Almuerzo de clausura ofrecido por el Ministro de Exteriores, Dr. Jaime Gama Discurso de clausura pronunciado por el Ministro de Exteriores	Palácio das Necessidades
18:30h	Recepción	

DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGE IN LATIN AMERICA

June 28

12:00 / 07:00
21:00

Arrival of Participants
Dinner offered by the Portuguese Prime Minister,
Dr. Mário Soares
Welcome speech by Dr. Mário Soares
Thanking speech by President Luis Monge

Palácio Foz

June 29

07:30 / 09:00

Breakfast

Ritz Hotel

09:30

Introduction

Jardim de Inverno

09:30 / 10:00

1st Speech — Primer Minister Dr. Mário Soares

Ritz Hotel

10:00 / 10:30

2nd Speech — President Luis Monge

10:30 / 11:00

3rd Speech — President Lane Kirkland

11:00 / 11:30

Coffee-break

11:30 / 13:00

Debate

Jardim de Inverno

13:15

Lunch

Salão Nobre

Speech by President Fernandez Ordoñez
followed by debate

Ritz Hotel

15:15 / 18:30

Working Groups:

Jardim de Inverno

I — Political Group:

1 President and 2 Vice-Presidents

1st Report — — Enrique Tejera Paris

2nd Report — Bayard Rustin

3rd Report — Guy Hermet

II — Economical Group:

1 President and 2 Vice-Presidents

1st Report — Miguel Martinez Cuadrado

2nd Report — Paul Seabury

3rd Report — Luis Anderson

Sala Vasco da Gama

Ritz Hotel

18:30

Interruption of works. Reception

21:30

Dinner offered by the Mayor of Lisbon

Castelo de S. Jorge

Speech by the Ambassador Kamplamam

(Casa do Leão)

June 30

07:30 / 09:00

Breakfast

Ritz Hotel

09:30 / 10:30

Plenary speeches

Jardim de Inverno

10:30 / 11:00

Plenary reports

11:00 / 11:30

Plenary debate

11:30 / 12:00

Coffee-break

12:00 / 13:30

Closing session

Jardim de Inverno

Speeches by President Felipe González
and Vice-President Jaime Paz

13:30

Lunch offered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Dr. Jaime Gama

Palácio das

Necessidades

Closing speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs

18:30

Reception

LE DÉFI DÉMOCRATIQUE EN AMÉRIQUE LATINE

Juin 28

12:00h / 19:00h 21:00h	Arrivée des Participants Dîner offert par le Premier Ministre portugais, Dr. Mário Soares Discours de bienvenue prononcé par le Dr. Mário Soares Mots de remerciement par le Président Luis Monge	Palácio Foz
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Juin 29

07:30h / 09:00h 09:00h	Petit-déjeuner Ouverture des Travaux	Hôtel Ritz Jardim de Inverno
09:00h / 10:00h	1ère Intervention — Premier Ministre Dr. Mário Soares	Hôtel Ritz
10:00h / 10:30h	2nde Intervention — Président Luis Monge	
10:30h / 11:00h	3ème Intervention — Président Lane Kirkland	
11:00h / 11:30h	Pause Café	
11:30h / 13:00h	Débat	Jardim de Inverno
13:15h	Déjeuner de Travail Discours prononcé par le Président Fernandez Ordoñez suivi de débat	Salão Nobre Hôtel Ritz
15:15h / 18:30h	Travaux des Commissions: I — Commission — Groupe Politique: 1 Président et 2 Vice-Présidents Première Communication — Enrique Tejera Paris Seconde Communication — Bayard Rustin Troisième Communication — Guy Hermet II — Commission — Groupe Économique: 1 Président et 2 Vice-Présidents Première communication — Miguel Martinez Cuadrado Seconde communication — Paul Seabury Troisième communication — Luis Anderson	Jardim de Inverno
18:30h 21:00h	Interruption des travaux. Reception Dîner offert par le Maire de Lisbonne Discours prononcé par l'Ambassadeur Kamplamam	Sala Vasco da Gama Hôtel Ritz Castelo de S. Jorge (Casa do Leão)

Juin 30

07:30h / 09:00h 09:00h / 10:30h	Petit-déjeuner Séance Plénière	Hôtel Ritz Jardim de Inverno
10:30h / 11:00h 11:00h / 11:30h 11:30h / 12:00h 12:00h / 13:30h	Rapports Débat Pause Café Séance de fermeture	Jardim de Inverno
3:30h	Discours prononcés par le Président Felipe González et par le Vice-Président Jaime Paz Déjeuner de fermeture offert par le Ministre des Affaires Extérieures, Dr. Jaime Gama Discours de fermeture par le Ministre des Affaires Extérieures	Palácio das Necessidades
18:30h	Reception	



*The Ambassador of the United States of America
requests the pleasure of the company of*

Mr. Rustin

at Drinks

on Thursday, June 28, 1984

at 6:00-7:30 o'clock P.M.

R. I. V. P.

570402 725600

Ext. 259 2536

"Regrets only"

Rua do Sacramento à Lapa, 18



*A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa tem o praxer de convidar
V. Ex.ª para o jantar em honra dos participantes na Conferência
Internacional, subordinada ao tema « O Desafio Democrático
na América Latina », que se realiza no dia 29 de Junho
de 1984, às 21 horas, na Sala Ogival do Castelo de S. Jorge.*

*Em honra dos Participantes na Conferência "O Desafio
Democrático na América Latina"*

O Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros

têm a honra de convidar Ex.ª S.ª

Do. Bayard Rustin

para o almoço que se realiza no dia 30 de Junho

às 13,30 horas, no Palácio das Necessidades

R. I. F. F.

do Protocolo

Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros

Con ocasión de la Conferencia "El Desafío
Democrático en América Latina"

El Embajador de España

tiene el gusto de invitar a l. Excmo. Señor
Rayard Rustiu
a una recepción el Viernes 29 de Junio
a las 19.00 horas

Palácio de Pálhavã

O Primeiro Ministro e Senhora de *Mário Soares*

têm a honra de convidar V. Exa. (s) para o jantar que se
realiza no dia 28 de Junho, às 21.00 horas, no Palácio
Fox, por ocasião da Conferência «O Desafio Democrático
na América Latina».

Traje Informal



Jaime Paz Lamora *Vice-Presidente da República da Bolívia* *e Presidente do Senado*

tem a honra de convidar Vossas Excelências para uma
recepção que se realiza no dia 30 de Junho de 1984,
às 18.30 horas, na residência da Embaixada da
Bolívia.

Quinta Utamau
Estrada de Bicosse
Bicosse - 2765 Estoril

R. S. V. P.
613536
(só negativas)